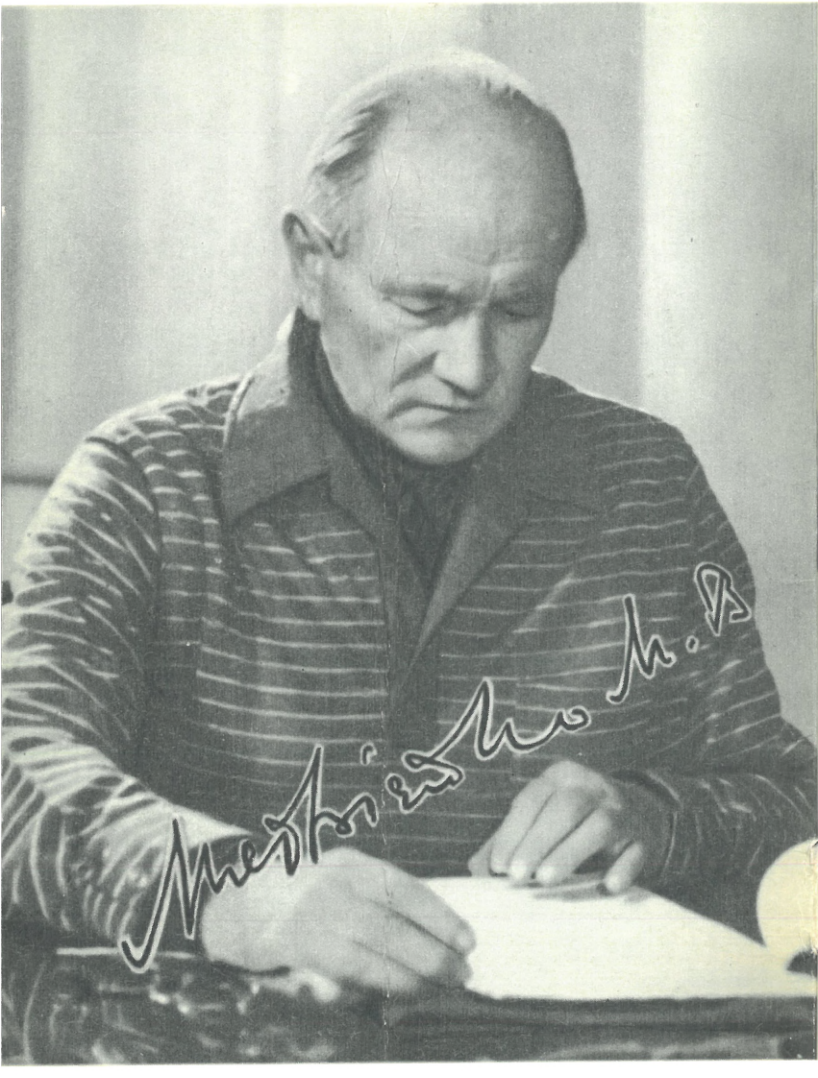
MYRON
MATVIJEIKO

A WORD TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION

KAMENYAR
PUBLISHERS
LVIV



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Kamenyar Publishers
Printed at the "Atlas" Print Shop
Order No. 992-1
Price: 15 kopecks

M $\frac{\textbf{10504—073}}{\textbf{M214(04)—81}}$ **81. 0302030900**

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Foreword

Dear reader, I want to tell you about the dirty, black deeds of leaders of ZCh OUN, which stands for OUN FB (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Foreign Branches) and about some secrets that were and are still painstakingly kept out of your reach. I want to help you see the shameful activity of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, these outspoken enemies of the Ukrainian people, for what it's really like.

This booklet consists of what I have written quite recently and of some of the data I provided earlier in Ukrainian brochures and separate articles.

Why do I consider it necessary to write about the current criminal intentions of the nationalists, let alone about past events?

The old truth that the leopard can't change his spots remarkably well applies to those nationalist leaders who still continue to supply cadres for foreign intelligence services. They do so despite all the scandalous failures of their emissaries previously sent to the Ukraine under hypocritical mottos about "liberating" the Ukraine from the Bolsheviks. They continue to recruit brainwashed adherents, trying to prove that the nationalists' endeavors have some effect on Soviet people, only to see their agents later branded and ridiculed.

Take, for example, such nationalist emissaries as Dobosh, Klymchuk and others. Their activities caused all Soviet people and Ukrainian youth in particular to feel disgust toward the traitorous essence of the OUN elite, the insidious operations of its emissaries, and anger toward their true masters — foreign secret services.

It is common knowledge in the Ukraine that the nationalists actually aim all their efforts at raising their worth in the eyes of capitalist spy centers, particularly the U.S. Central Intelligence Service, the British Secret Intelligence Service, West German intelligence and, currently, Israel's Zionist organizations and that country's ruling circles. They resort to desperate attempts to win over to their side Ukrainians living abroad — especially the younger generation. By hook or by crook, they try to make them carry out dirty assignments to the detriment of the land of their fathers.

Some of the young Ukrainians in the West, totally unfamiliar with Soviet reality, swallow the bait cast by those gambling on their national sentiments. In such cases, part of them are used by the nationalists as blindly obedient tools in various provocations. They are sent to the Ukraine under the guise of tourists. Not so long ago, quite a few of them were cannon fodder kindling for years the fire of U.S military aggression in Vietnam.

As I have already said, this booklet is about the nationalists, their disgraceful deeds and concrete crimes perpetrated by OUN. Unfortunately, I have often been directly involved in and with them. I consider it my public duty to the Ukrainian people to disclose the true

identity of OUN and its rulers and to show that, doomed as they are, they are concerned exclusively about their own welfare and by no means about the interests of the Ukrainian nation.

I sincerely hope that this work will help my young readers see who is really who.

Who Am I?

The burnt child dreads the fire. Using this old English saying, I was among those who got burned and was nearly consumed by the fire of my mistakes.

At present, I, Myron Vasyliovych Matvijeiko, am a citizen of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Before 1951, however, I was chief of the OUN SB security service, head of the department for local liasion and a member of the OUN FB leadership.

I was born in 1914, in the village of Beremivka, Zboriv District, Ternopil Region. My father was a parish priest. At the age of 16, in 1930, in Lviv, I joined an OUN youth organization. At that time I believed with my whole heart that OUN and its Führer Eugene Konowaletz had been called upon by His Will to free the Western Ukrainian lands from the yoke of Polish landlords and capitalists and to create instead a "free and independent" Ukrainian state — which was also to be capitalist, though. Since then, I had climbed the ladder of nationalist hierarchy from an ordinary young member to one in the highest echelons.

When among the OUN elite, I saw how the organization's mottos were put into practice

and how its ignominious plans were realized. At one time, I was in charge of OUN's policy, together with Bandera, Stetzko, Lenkawsky, Lebed and other VIPs, so I had an excellent view of what OUN was really like inside

I dedicated more than half my life — my youth and the best years of maturity — to the promotion and realization of nationalist ideas and slogans. Today, addressing my younger compatriots abroad, I look back at my past. I never reached what I had believed was my supreme goal in life. The remarkable thing was that the higher I climbed the ladder of OUN hierarchy the more disillusioned I became. Once in the Soviet Ukraine, I realized that the aspirations of my youth were abortive. What was more — and I do not conceal my chagrin at admitting this — I saw that my long years in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists had brought considerable damage to the interests of the Ukrainian people, whether I wanted it or not. You might well ask me why so much harm. I will tell you quite frankly. Whereas I don't find anything criminal about the struggle of Ukrainians against the occupiers of the Western Ukraine during the pre-Soviet period — although it was waged under nationalist slogans — I am positive that the activity of such OUN top figures as Konowaletz, Bandera, Melnyk and Shukhevych was from the very start a crime against the Ukrainian nation. Even then, taking advantage of the nationalist feelings and freedom-loving aspirations of Western Ukrainians, they allied themselves and the entire OUN with the Nazi Gestapo and *Abwehr,* with the Italian OVRA, the Polish and other capitalist intelligence services.

Until I personally became convinced that OUN's struggle against Soviet rule in the Ukraine was being waged on orders from the nationalist elite, for the benefit of its masters overseas, I sincerely believed — as some of you perhaps still do — that this struggle was necessary, that it would "free" the Ukrainian people.

But free from what? Have you ever asked yourself this question? From the freedom, equality and brotherhood which the Ukrainian nation acquired thanks to Soviet power?

Not knowing — or even not wanting to know — the truth about Soviet reality, I blindly believed that only OUN would bring happiness for the Ukrainian people. I am ashamed to admit — but I must, for the sake of truth — that I ought to have realized much earlier the whole criminal essence of the OUN leadership whose very policy has always been sheer front for plainly espionage activity.

I was then under the spell of what can be now only described as ungrounded hatred of everything Soviet. Fanatically convinced that there were exclusively good intentions on the part of those whom I then saw as our nationalist luminaries, I strongly believed that the OUN end justified the anti-Soviet means, even if the latter included contacts with foreign secret services. What was more, I considered such tactics logical and fair.

No matter how beautifully eloquent the nationalist bosses sound when calling on OUN members to fight for their lofty ideas, the fact remains that each of the has worked and continues to work for some country's secret service. As for the internal feud, it results from their desperate attempts to be the closest to

their master. I witnessed this for many years, when on the OUN department for foreign liasion, headed by Lebed, during the Nazi occupation of the Ukraine, but especially after WWII.

I am witness to what Mykola Lebed and Ivan Hrynyokh tried to present as "foreign policy" and which actually boiled down to espionage contacts with the Nazis, the Hungarian and a number of other capitalist intelligence services. Even then they tried to use them as go-betweens to establish contacts with the British SIS.

I am witness to the collaboration of Stephen Bandera, Yaroslav Stetzko, Ivan Hrynyokh, Volodymyr Stakhiv, Yuri Lopatynsky, Joseph Waskowych and Joseph Tiushka with Nazi intelligence. It continued until the Third Reich breathed its last. It must have been while Dr. Goebbels was poisoning himself that "Chairman" Stetzko, "Minister" Stakhiv and UHVR's * "Vice-President" Hrynyokh were on their way to the Bavarian Forest, riding in *Abwehr* automobiles, in the company of Dr. Fehl, representative of the Supreme Department for Imperial Security, and his aides. At that forest, the nationalist big shots were to assume command of the anti-Soviet division of the Himmler-sired *Werewolf* guerilla network.

It was I, Myron Matvijeiko, who dressed Stetzko's wounds when the Nazi motorcade had been showered with explosive bullets during a U.S. air raid.

Let me tell you now how I, one of the OUN key figures who had lived in Munich together with my wife, found myself in the Ukraine.

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* Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.

I was sent there in 1951, with a secret mission which included establishing contacts with the allegedly still effective survivors of the OUN underground network. The assignment was given me personally by Stephen Bandera, as well as by the British SIS and the OUN leadership. I had to locate nationalists at the head of armed groups and convey to them new instructions. I was to brief them on how to further conduct subversive and espionage work against the Soviet Union.

I don't have to remind well-informed OUN members of the sources financing such undertakings, but I might as well tell my younger readers that assignments such as mine have always been patronized by imperialist secret services, the U.S. topping the list. Almost as soon as Nazi Germany surrendered to the Allies, these clandestine agencies began to encourage anti-Soviet efforts in every possible way. Needless to say, the OUN FB leadership used this to its best advantage. It sold utterly false information about the Ukraine and, in order to prove its worth, it started to present separate OUN terroristic acts in the Western Ukraine as some "revolutionary movement" against Soviet rule there which it, allegedly, kept under control from abroad. At first, U.S. and British intelligence bought this and were rather generous. With time, however, they became increasingly demanding, wanting more concrete data on the situation in the country. Already in 1950, the OUN FB top brass were given a detailed assignment regarding intelligence about the USSR to be collected for capitalist secret services. This intelligence had to be obtained come what may. But where?

Bandera and Stetzko knew only too well that there was actually no underground nationalist resistance in the Ukraine, except for separate groups and individual OUN ranking officers who actually operated on their own. It was then they decided to send me there, so I could provide OUN FB and their new employers with "information" about the non-existent underground nationalist movement and the mythical OUN leadership in the Western Ukraine that were allegedly capable of fighting Soviet rule. Bandera and Stetzko believed that such information would allow them to "do business" with foreign intelligence agencies which would be willing to pay for it.

It was clearly apparent that Bandera and Stetzko were sacrificing me for their personal interests and for those of capitalist clandestine organizations. As for me, I had to go if I didn't want to get in serious trouble.

Still, the idea of being a sacrificial goat held little appeal for me, so when I reached the Ukraine and saw what was what, I gave myself up to Soviet authorities.

I have lived here as of May 1951. During this period I have seen with my own eyes how outrageously false and criminal is everything done by the nationalist centers and their leaders. For me, the word "nightmare" best serves to describe any recollection of my work in the OUN SB security service, which bowed and scraped before Bandera, Stetzko and other OUN key figures, and acted on orders directly from foreign intelligence services and which was aimed against the Ukrainian people in general and Ukrainian emigres in particular.

Who Are They (Stephen Bandera)?

I used to know Stephen Bandera perhaps better than any other nationalist bigwigs. For a number of years we were in the same boat and pulled off dirty jobs together which I simply cannot bring myself to recall. For quite a while I was his right hand when in command of the SB department. I am telling you all this to stress that I, of all people, do know the true worth of Bandera and his "struggle," no matter how eloquent the nationalist press has been in describing his "heroism" and "exploits" and calling him a "living example to be followed."

If you, my young reader, have ever leafed through nationalist periodicals like *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh,* you may have read the following:

"In the memories of people who knew him, Stephen Bandera arises as a man.... completely dedicated to his beloved people and the liberation cause."

I knew him and was witness to what he actually did. If you saw what I saw, you would have easily understood that the very nationalist ideas were for him nothing more than a front behind which was secreted his all-consuming desire to become a kind of sovereign in the Ukraine. He wanted it so much that he would willingly become a Nazi lackey and even sacrifice his "beloved people."

It would be hard to list the crimes Bandera perpetrated against his own nation. As a Nazi agent, he and the OUN leadership under him fraudulently sold Ukrainian nationalists to foreign secret services. And these nationalists

blindly followed their superiors and carried out heinous terroristic acts against the Ukraine Via Riko Yaryi, this "champion of the noble idea" received the Judas pieces of silver that were washed in the blood of Soviet people.

Bandera killed Ukrainians who refused to cooperate with OUN, even his own henchmen. He was prepared to do anything to remain number one on the lists of Nazi collaborators. He operated an SB security service of his own which drew up lists of his prey. I saw with my own eyes these horrible sheets of paper that seemed dripping with human blood, and not one of them had a single line corroborating the victim's guilt!

"Why should there be any," the Banderists would say, "if Bandera's one word is a law. Our leader knows what he's doing. He looks after the interests of the nation!"

And so all this "living symbol of the Ukrainian revolution" had to do was to put a cross opposite a name and the man was as good as dead, even if he was his buddy and only yesterday had shared the same blanket with Bandera.

In the meantime, you young Ukrainians are told that Bandera "treated his colleagues, both closer to and farther from him in command, with sympathy and understanding. If he learned, by chance, that some of them had problems, "he tried to help them as much as he could." (*Vyzvolnyi Shliakh,* No. 1, 1979.)

What a kind and well-wishing soul he appears to have been!

But the fact remains that this "well-wishing" man ordered the killing of almost 400 nationalists of the Melnyk faction. The only reason was that Bandera didn't want other national-

ists to be better than he in the eyes of Adolf Hitler.

You are told now that "Bandera wasn't vindictive and more than once forgave those who had intrigued against him." Ask your fathers how "forgiving" he was. They may well tell you that in February of 1940 he sent S. Lenkawsky and R. Shukhevych to Melnyk in Berlin whom they were to persuade to surrender his nationalist "throne" to him, Bandera. Perhaps they still remember that "black council" and the death verdicts it passed for the Ukrainian nationalists Senyk, Stsiborsky and Baranovsky who had refused to join Bandera's "revolt." Actually they must remember all this, because it was this council that triggered off inter-OUN fratricidal hostilities.

Anyway, here is what Bandera was like in his deeds, not in words, and how "concerned" he was about his friends and how he "treated them with sympathy and understanding." I, for one, will never forget Bandera's other "black council" when he was again splitting OUN. He and Lenkawsky — on the former's instigation — demanded that noted functionaries of OUN and ZP UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, Foreign Leadership) such as Daria and Lev Rebet, Omelian Lohush and his wife Kateryna, Ivan Hrynyokh, and later even Mykola Lebed, be incarcerated in bunkers. My tough luck was such that I had to attend that council as an SB operative advisor and was thus involved in yet another dirty affair.

Bandera, Stetzko and Lenkawsky wanted to strike once to finish with their opposition. At all costs, they were determined to get rid of dangerous rivals in their struggle for the right

to represent the "warring Ukraine" before foreign secret services. And so they started a campaign for the elimination of dissenters, while looking for allies and those who would carry out their criminal schemes.

In me, they found neither. Stepan Lenkawsky-Zaluzhny, Mykola Klymyshyn and Roman Bychkovych undertook to execute the council's resolutions. They were people who had always obliged Bandera's instructions and carried out his assignments without the slightest doubt or hesitation.

Now let's get back to *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh.* You may have read there that "Bandera was.... extremely economic, especially when disposing of the organization's budget, trying not to spend money on insignificant things. There were even anecdotes about his thriftiness."

Well, I can tell you that Bandera's much-praised "thriftiness" is the biggest joke I've ever heard! True, he was a real miser when money was to be spent on OUN's needs, but he was remarkably generous when even bigger public money went into his own pocket.

I might as well use this occasion and ask *Shliakh* editors if they know anything about where all those astronomical sums, accumulated by the OUN purser as the nationalist spoil and donations by members and sympathizers, went after Bandera and his racket had split the organization, quit the Melnyk group and got the dough by some crookery? If they don't, I can give you quite an accurate answer.

I can state with perfect confidence that, even if there was some money spent on "strengthening the struggle in the Ukraine," it was nothing more than a handful, compared to the

lion's share of the OUN treasure that found its place on Bandera's private bank account.

Someone may object that Bandera did send contact agents and armed groups to the Ukraine and it must have cost a lot. It is true. But each time people were sent there they were well provided for by foreign intelligence services, and whether such missions were organized by Bandera or Lebed, it not only had no ill effect on the OUN purse but yielded considerable incomes part of which the two bosses called their own.

But let us refer ourselves to some of the facts which the "fathers of the nation" are so painstakingly keeping secret.

In the spring of 1948, I was appointed as head of the department for liasion with the Ukraine. This automatically raised me to the level of the OUN FB elite and made me chief of a special, secret staff for preparing and carrying out an action registered in Bandera's ciphered lists under the code name of "Bohun."

My new responsibilities included the preparation of armed OUN groups to be sent to the Ukraine. This called for considerable spendings. Bandera, however, refused to give me a cent. What was more, he let it be understood that both the sending of contact agents to Shukhevych and the action "Bohun" had to result in substantial additions to the OUN FB funds. And the sooner the better. It was some time later that I finally saw what was behind all this.

The OUN "Führer" put his cards on the table during a secret meeting with Osyp Tiushka and me. The trouble, it appeared, was the organization's money. Within less than a year, the

purser, Mykola Klymyshyn, Bandera's chum buddy, had made the situation with the funds simply drastic. Millions had been spent God knows on what. Even before this meeting I knew that in the smart hands of Klymyshyn OUN's gold and diamonds had undergone quite a metamorphosis, going all the way from the strongboxes to the leaders' pockets. But I couldn't even imagine — and neither could most OUN members — that Klymyshyn had embezzled most of the money and valuables of OUN FB, entrusted him as head of the financial department.

By the way. I am not at all sure that you, my young reader, know how the OUN gold reserves were created.

I will tell you. The gold was piled up as the spoil of robbing and killing Ukrainians, Jews and Poles, and as donations by members and brainwashed sympathizers of OUN and UPA. After the war, Bandera, Stetzko, Lebed, Lenkawsky and other nationalist VIPs made good use of slogans about help for the "warring Ukraine" to pump large sums from members and sympathizers of OUN and OUN FB, as well as from separate refugees and declassé persons.

Well, getting back to that secret meeting, Bandera's story of Klymyshyn's fraudulent practice, black marketeering and plain theft could have knocked me down with a feather, even though, knowing about all the criminal wheelings and dealings of characters rallying round Bandera, Lebed and Stetzko as I did, I had thought that nothing would surpise me any longer.

In my naïvete, I had long been warning

Bandera that I could smell a rat in Klymyshyn's financial endeavors. As it turned out, mine had been the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Klymyshyn had been pulling off his machinations with Bandera's knowledge. Even more so, on his personal instructions. He had not only carried them out with utmost diligence but had also appropriated quite a few pieces of jewelry and handed them over to his mistress, embellishing her delicate fingers with golden rings and diamonds and her ears with emeralds in platinum setting.

I suggested that the embezzler be made answerable for the crimes, that he be tried, severely punished, and that steps be taken lest he would run away with pockets full of the OUN gold.

I reminded Bandera that previously, as head of the SB department, I had given him and the OUN tribunal evidence supported by witnesses that Klymyshyn had embezzled almost half a million in German marks of our organization's funds. Among the witnesses were not only Ukrainians like Liubryk Hladkyi but also Germans.

Matiytsiv, an OUN FB member who was assigned to inspect Klymyshyn's accounts, reported that Klymyshyn had torn whole pages out of the financial catalogues in order to hide his tracks and had poured ink over some of the entries and made them totally illegible.

This inspection provided irrefutable evidence that Mykola Klymyshyn, OUN's purser and Bandera's right hand, was an embezzler and a criminal. Bandera, however, merely ordered Klymyshyn to surrender the already empty OUN FB purse to someone else. In other words,

Bandera, Tiushka, Stetzko and Lenkawsky consciously shut their eyes to Klymyshyn's crimes.

I think that the reader has already understood why these nationalist leaders took Klymyshyn under their protection, even though they were in possession of striking proof of his guilt. They did even more than that, granting him a kind of immunity status. Instead of punishing him, they officially appointed him as a member of the OUN FB branch leadership in the United States.

True, even then Bandera and Tiushka let me have a glimpse of what was behind their remarkable benevolence. They led me to understand that to bring Klymyshyn to book would mean playing into the hands of the opposition which would use the scandal to compromise Bandera and then Stetzko, Lenkawsky and the rest of the OUN FB elite. Bandera ended by telling me that I was to hold my tongue about all I had just heard and that that was an order.

Unfortunately, I was then still unswerving in my belief in the need of "fighting for the Ukraine" and was convinced that Stephen Bandera was the very symbol of that struggle and could not be exposed to public criticism, even if he deserved it.

It is quite possible that many of my friends of that period won't have the guts to admit to what I told them, at one time or another, about Klymyshyn's crimes. However, I don't doubt for a moment that all of them will agree, inwardly, that everything I have so far shared with my young Ukrainian readers is nothing but truth.

Here is yet another example of OUN's financial machinations.

It happened in the spring of 1948, during that same "secret meeting of the three" in Munich. Tiushka reported on his secret mission with which Bandera had sent him to Riko Yaryi, one of the first secret Nazi agents and a member of the Ukrainian nationalist leadership.

Riko Yaryi was the right hand of Eugene Konowaletz and, at the same time, Bandera's spiritual overlord during OUN's first split. He had luckily made it safely from the Soviet to the British occupation zone of Austria. He knew only too well that the Ukrainian people had more than enough reasons to throw the book at him, so he had run away from his castle in Gljognitza near Vienna. He had purchased that castle and an estate on the outskirts of Berlinvankelsee with the money he had stolen from the OUN "liberation fund."

With his associates, however, Riko Yaryi behaved as though he were almost a beggar who had barely found his way from behind the iron curtain with nothing but his poor suffering soul.

Riko Yaryi assured Bandera that he was looking forward to that moment when the Bolsheviks had withdrawn their troops from Austria. Then he would return to his castle in Gljognitza, retrieve part of the OUN treasure bricked up in the basement and return the valuables to the OUN leader.

There were supposed to be thousands of dollars hidden in the castle. But what kind of money was that?

It had been kept first in Swiss strongboxes and could be received by two persons only — Stephen Bandera or Riko Yaryi. The latter had advised his friend Bandera to deposit the money

on such conditions. So you can see for yourself how "honest" and "economic" Bandera really was. Here is another mystery. After the first OUN split on the eve of the treacherous Nazi invasion of the USSR, the OUN leadership under Bandera launched a big campaign for collecting money for the "liberation fund." It was then Bandera, Lebed, Stetzko, Shukhevych and Lenkawsky sold themselves and their OUN to the Nazi *Abwehr* secret service.

All the "liberation actions" carried out under Bandera's guidance at that period were generously financed by Nazi intelligence. Among them were the operations of the *Nachtigall* battalion, led by *Hauptmanns* Shukhevych. Pobihushchy and the "Reverend Father" Hrynyokh, the special mission in the East of OUN members who were to act as interpreters on Nazi military staffs, etc.

Nazi intelligence provided each soldier of the battalion, every interpreter, with uniforms, weapons and rations. I might as well point out that Bandera received so much for every serviceman that could and did afford the "triumphant entrance" — on Nazi limousines — of Stetzko and other nationalist big shots to Nazi-occupied Lviv and then the march to the East of columns of route.

And how about the money Bandera received for espionage data prior to WWII? On Riko Yaryi's advice, he deposited it in a Swiss bank. (Later, Riko Yaryi called the money his own as a reward for the role he had played in the first OUN split.)

Now let me explain why Bandera decided to confide me these criminal acts of his spiritual mentor.

He wanted me to believe Yaryi's tale about some big money hidden in his Austrian castle. But what forced Bandera to draw, for me, that terrible picture of the OUN FB financial catastrophe, caused by Mykola Klymyshyn? While appointing me as head of the department for liasion with the Ukraine and chief of staff for Operation "Bohun," Bandera didn't give me a cent and made it clear that sending spies to the Ukraine had to give the new OUN FB purser an access to the bank accounts of British and U.S. intelligence. He wanted to feed me the cock-and-bull story about Yaryi's money so I would believe in his concern about the financial aspect of my new assignment.

"I am reassigning this fund for the promotion of work in the Ukraine and for the material provision of people who will be sent there," said Bandera.

Incidentally, during that meeting Bandera and Tiushka told me they intended to arrange for the contact agents being sent to the Ukraine to be registered as British or American intelligence officers.

Comparatively very little was required of me. I was to believe in Yaryi's and Bandera's tales about the OUN treasure hidden in the castle of Gljognitza and to procure people to retrieve it (the castle was then in the Soviet occupation zone of Austria).

I didn't buy that and suggested to the OUN leader that Riko Yaryi be "persuaded" to recount his story to the OUN tribunal and answer for his theft as required by law.

But how could Bandera possibly agree to my suggestion? He couldn't and the didn't. Instead, his order to me was, "Don't say a word

about Riko Yaryi's money until your dying day."

Another thing that puzzled me greatly at that time was what had become of the fifty million Soviet rubles to which Hrynyokh and Lebed had had free access before the fall of the Third Reich. The story of this money is almost identical to that of the Yaryi "fund" and the source of this huge sum was to be found in Nazi intelligence.

Fifty million!

I know about five million. It was taken by contract agents Yuri Lopatynsky and Demid Chyzhevsky who were to give the money to Roman Shukhevych in the Ukraine. In the fall of 1944, the agents and representatives of Himmler were flown across the front line by a Nazi war plane for a meeting with the "UPA Commander in Chief."

I learned about the fifty million Soviet rubles allocated by the Nazi secret service for the "liberation struggle" of UPA-OUN and that Hrynyokh and — through him — Lebed had direct and unlimited access to this money from Dr. Fehl, representative of the Nazi *Frontaufklerungskommando-201.* It was with him that UHVR Vice-President and member of the OUN leadership Ivan Hrynyokh maintained official contacts. Hrynyokh told me so himself when I was in command of the security division of the Lebed-headed department for foreign contacts. Some time later, Bandera assured me that the remaining 45 million wasn't even entered in the OUN expense sheets which he had taken away from Zenon Martsiuk.

So who are these people? Are they "fighters for the Ukraine" or obedient employees of

foreign intelligence services, a pack of crooks and greedy traders selling their countrymen in strange lands for dollars and marks?

Any nationalist publication will tell you that Stephen Bandera was an excellent family man, an example of how a man is supposed to be faithful to his wife. Let me tell you now exactly how "faithful" he really was.

Once, I was ordered by Bandera to liquidate his chief bodyguard Banyas. I am stressing that he told me to kill him, adding that his mouth had to be shut for good; Banyas was allegedly going out of line and knew what he shouldn't have known.

But what was it Banyas knew and why did Bandera decide to get rid of him?

The reason was simple enough. Banyas and his men had witnesseed what could be described — mildly — as a lack of understanding between Stephen Bandera and his wife Slava. Some of the bodyguards had told me, with express indignation, that they had seen the leader of all OUN beat his wife and rudely push her in the stomach even when she was bearing his child.

When Bandera's wife was to be taken to the maternity hospital for the third time, Banyas sent his wife over to their home to look after the two children. What was more, he brought Slava to the hospital himself. What do you think Bandera did as a sign of gratitude for such consideration? He tried to rape Banyas's wife as she was nursing his own children. The woman told her husband and he related the story to me, his eyes running.

My first impulse was to send a couple of my toughs over to give Bandera a treatment for

lechery that would cure him for the rest of his life. I even thought of bringing an action against him in the OUN tribunal. But once again my blind fears that this would not only affect Bandera but also defame the entire leadership got the upper hand.

I advised Banyas to settle that particular account with Bandera on a personal basis.

He did and Bandera had one of the hardest nights in his life. Banyas gave him a ruthless tongue lashing. No one else, it seemed, had ever painted his portrait in such merciless colors. Bandera, however, remained his old self. He waited for his chance to get even with Banyas. It came when the dollar scandal broke surface. What saved Banyas's life was that I also knew Bandera's "second mystery."

* * *

Such are the facts. I know them in every possible detail. I want them to be an eye-opener for my readers. I want my reader to know where all the hard-earned donations of his parents — and those which he may be working hard to scrape up now — really went and still go. I want my reader to realize that the very existence and activity of the nationalist groups outside the Ukraine are preconditioned by their active involvement with foreign secret services. The latter are financing and guiding the traitorous nationalist leaders, because both the employers and the sellouts in their employ are united by one hatred of the Soviet Union.

Do not let them deceive you and make you small change in the heavy gambling they keep up behing your backs. Remember that this game is entirely at your expense after all is said and

done, and that this gambling is purposefully maintained by the upper echelons of what you know as big nationalist associations such as OUN, ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), WCFU (World Congress of Free Ukrainians), etc., together with their bosses overseas. Remember: all nationalist slogans are nothing but front behind which are hidden their true faces of traitors and spy recruiters.

Who Are They (Roman Shukhevych, Mykola Lebed)?

Roman Shukhevych is today highlighted by the emigre press as the "Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army" and the "most outstanding figure of the Ukrainian nation." Whole pages of separate periodicals are dedicated to him and "prayers are offered up for the Almighty Lord to rest his soul."

Emigre publishers are thus trying to combine in one person the entire complex of the military, political and "state" leadership of the so-called "warring Ukraine." *The New Pathway* (Canada), for one, considers that "each Ukrainian must stand at attention remembering this valorous general."

What was Roman Shukhevych (also known as Taras Chuprynka, Roman Lozovsky and Tur) like in reality? I will try to paint a true picture of this character before whose memory you young Ukrainians are supposed to "stand at attention."

Under Bandera, Shukhevych held the post of War Minister and was the best friend and

comrade-in-arms of the professional killer Theodor Oberlender. As Taras Chuprynka, this future UPA general, then in the *Wehrmacht* ranks, led the nationalist mercenaries on their blood-covered path across the Nazi-occupied Ukraine. Shukhevych took part in the shootings of most prominent intellectuals in Lviv.

On the night of July 3-4, 1941, the *Nachtigall* battalion of Nazi-trained OUN thugs, ordered to serve there by their nationalist leaders, carried out a special action in Lviv, in the course of which a considerable number of the local professors were put to death. The operation was supervised by the experienced OUN terrorist Roman Shukhevych, then *hauptmann* (captain, or *sotnyk* with the nationalists).

Maybe the reason why my young readers are told to stand at attention to honor the memory of Shukhevych is because he and his subordinate Ukrainian Nazi mercenaries of the Insurgent Army openly helped the aggressors in exterminating and terrorizing civilians in the Ukraine?

Roman Shukhevych is supposed to be an example you should follow. Still, I don't believe many of you know that he was a criminal when he had barely turned 19!

Shukhevych early learned the idea of the "ideologue" M. Stsiborsky that "nationalism does not limit itself by any generally human principles of justice, compassion and humaneness." In 1926, in Lviv, he shot in the back school curator Sobinski. The police, however, suspected two perfectly innocent people — Ivan Verbitsky and Vasyl Otamanchuk. During a widely publicized trial in January of 1923, both were sentenced to death, later commuted to

life imprisonment. Both the preliminary investigation and the trial lasted several months but the "fighter for the idea" Roman Shukhevych felt no pangs of conscience over the fact that others were going to suffer for what he had done. Cat's paw was his favorite tactic which he never hesitated to apply even if that paw belonged to his associates.

It was that same "ideal personality" Shukhevych who, together with a gang of his like, held up a post office in the town of Gorodok in 1932, clearing 3,232 zlotys, for which Bilas and Danylyshyn were hanged.

It was that same Shukhevych for the repose of whose soul you are called upon to offer up prayers who took part in the raid on the *Bank Ludowy* in Borislav and on the post office in Truskavets. This future "most prominent figure of the Ukrainian nation" ordered the killing of Tadeusz Goluwka, ambassador of the Polish *Sejm*. Few of my young readers possibly know that in 1934 Shukhevych ordered and directly participated in the killing of Yakov Bachynsky, a student. Three months later, Ivan Babiy, principal of a Ukrainian high school, was murdered. In 1935, OUN member V. Hereta shot two of his colleagues — Maria Kovalyuk and Mikhailo Kopach — near the village of Bilohorshcha. They had disagreed with the decision of the leadership to appoint Lev Rebet as head of the local OUN department. Several days after that, another OUN member, Volodymyr Melnyk, was killed in Lviv. He had demanded an action against Hereta. In other words, he had placed himself in opposition to OUN leaders who had sentenced Kopach and Kovalyuk to death. Roman Shukhevych was behind all these terror-

istic acts. He continued to provoke and himself perpetrated heinous crimes, smartly and treacherously lumping the blame on others.

This hardened criminal is referred to as the creator and head of the General Secretariat of the ill-famed Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). During WWII, the Council was an obedient tool in the hands of the Nazis in the Ukraine. After the war, it began to closely cooperate with American and British special services. My young reader, they keep on telling you that, as Commander in Chief of UPA, Shukhevych aimed his efforts at stepping up struggle against the Nazis. In reality, his Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed by the *Abwehr* and SD for the only purpose of serving the Nazis.

In April of 1944, when the *Wehrmacht* was fleeing the Ukraine under devastating blows from the Soviet Army, high-ranking Nazis gathered for a conference of *Abwehrkommando* heads of the South Army Group. They passed the Resolution "On the Maintenance of Contacts Between UPA and the *Wehrmacht,* the Police and Bodies of Civilian Administration." UPA's previous Commander in Chief Klym Savur said during a meeting with SS Colonel Schiffeld that "UPA decisively acts against Soviet partisans together with the *Wehrmacht,* spotting their encampments and destroying them together with the Germans, guarding German routes of supplies and communication..." On its part, the German side undertook to completely provide UPA with munitions. It was also agreed that "intelligence against the Bolsheviks will be completely financed by the German side through the UPA command."

SS Sturmbahnfuhrer Witiska, police and security commandant of the District of Galicia, reported to his superiors that "the cooperation of the *Wehrmacht* — first of all the *Abwehr* — with UPA will be further maintained." During the aforementioned conference of Nazi top brass, Lieutenant Colonel Seliger, commander of the *Abwehrkommando-202,* stressed that "the *Wehrmacht* is interested in strengthening UPA by supplying it with weapons and ammunition, as well as by training appropriate contingents.

So this is how UPA and its "Commander in Chief" Roman Shukhevych really "fought" the Nazis. Their collaboration with them is also proved by the fact that the aggressors cared for preserving OUN units even when retreating from the occupied lands. They wanted to supply them with everything necessary to carry on subversive work in the Red Army rear.

Today, the nationalist upper echelons keep in strict secrecy not only the crimes Shukhevych perpetrated against the Ukrainian people but also the circumstances of his death.

It is those types who took to their heels when they saw the Nazis had no chance in the Ukraine and who now try to convince you that Shukhevych fought the enemy to his last breath and died the death of a hero. People from his inner circle, however, know that he wanted to beat it from the Ukraine, secretly, after he had led the nationalist combat formation there to its fatal end, that he didn't care what would become of the UPA survivors whom he was leaving to the enemy's mercy.

He ordered to prepare a makeshift airfield for an American plane. *Sotnyks* Yavir and Khirama were to call it by radio. Shukhevych failed

to save his skin only because the wireless went out of order.

An avenging hand took the life of this *hauptmann-general* in the center of the village of Bilohorshcha, not far from Lviv. He was killed in the home of one of his many concubines.

* * *

Whereas the nationalist press spares little room in writing about and lauding Roman Shukhevych, my young reader is hardly likely to have read as much about yet another nationalist figure — Mykola Lebed. In what the nationalists describe as their "liberation struggle," this character occupied far from insignificant place. At one time, he was even regarded as the maker of their "foreign policy."

This discrepancy can be explained quite simply.

The emigre elite called the end of Roman Shukhevych a "death at one's post." (Some post, being killed at one's lover's place!) They still call him "the number one soldier in the forward ranks of the liberation front." In reality, they know better than anyone else that the "organized struggle of the Ukrainian nationalist underground" is sheer bluff. It was made clear in the confidential reports of the *hauptmann-general* which they studied. Still, they made up their mind to paint Shukhevych as an "idol" to be worshipped by the Ukrainian masses abroad.

As for Mykola Lebed who added a most shameful page to the history of the OUN camp, he was apparently out of the question as another such idol. He was too odious a figure. Since there was nothing "patriotic" to be attributed

to Lebed, the nationalist press chose to keep "democratically" silent.

I will try to shed some light on this figure.

As a man who had long worked under the auspices of the OUN top brass, I declare that all of them acted in close contact with Nazi intelligence already before the Second World War and during the war their collaboration became even stronger.

Before OUN's split, Colonel Roman Sushko, a veteran member, organized a spy school in Zakopane (Poland). He did it on orders from the Nazis. The school's main task was to train saboteurs to fight the Polish underground. Mykola Lebed, as an OUN functionary, was assigned by the *Wehrmacht* to prepare a large group of interpreters.

In July of 1941, big posters were seen on Lviv streets. Written in German and signed "M. Lebed, Oberleutnant, II Department," * they welcomed the Nazi invaders. As you see, it wasn't under his OUN title that this deputy to the OUN chief showed hospitality to his masters. He preferred to use his Nazi military rank.

In the fall of 1943, I was in charge of security at Lebed's department for foreign contacts. I was also responsible for the archives and often acted as a contact between the so called Diplomatic Corps and the OUN leadership. I am a living witness to the "excellent" activity of Mykola Lebed as the OUN and UHVR policy maker, and to that of Ivan Hrynyokh, his right hand. Before my very eyes OUN-UPA collaborated with the *Abwehr* and the Hungarian secret

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* Nazi military intelligence.

service of Horthy. After the war, the nationalist leaders subordinated them to British and U.S. spy centers. The following fact shows what importance they and the UPA general staff attached to the cooperation of Lebed and Hrynyokh with the *Abwehr.*

When the Eastern Front had already reached the foot of the Carpathian Mountains, a spy center was set up in Cracow, with Hrynyokh-Orlov (Orlov was his *Abwehr* alias) taking a most active part. In the *Abwehr* records the new center was registered as "UPA staff, attached to the *Frontaufklerungskommando-201.*" Hrynyokh, 201 commander Captain Kirn, and Dr. Fehl also attached to this staff three special schools for radio operators, spies and saboteurs. The teachers were, of course, Germans and the students OUN members. In the summer of 1944, Olexa Hasyn, then UPA's chief of staff, arrived in Cracow to receive instructions for Shukhevych from the *Abwehr* command.

In the fall of 1944, a group of contact agents was sent across the front line to Shukhevych on board a German aircraft. The group included Yuri Lopatynsky, Demid Chyzhevsky and radio operator Skorobahaty — all representatives of Stephen Bandera who had already been released from "prison" and was enjoying himself in Berlin taverns. Also present on board was the very important *Wehrmacht* envoy, Captain Kirn.

The group was dropped over the forest zone of Stanislav Region. Several months after, Kirn and Chyzhevsky returned. For crossing the front line and for strengthening contacts with the OUN branches and the UPA HQ in the

Ukraine, Captain Kirn was awarded the Golden Cross of Merit with Diamonds.

However, the nationalist elite was not content having stepped up cooperation with the Nazis. Aware that the days of the Third Reich were numbered, it slyly began to look for new masters.

Roman Shukhevych ordered his Secretary for Foreign Contacts Mykola Lebed to sound out the Secret Intelligence Service as a possible guardian of the "free Ukraine." (Both had no idea that Himmler and Canaris, trying to save their own skin, had long handed over to the British all their lists of anti-Soviet agents, including Shukhevych, Lebed, all the other OUN functionaries and the general staffs of UPA and UHVR.) Mykola Lebed promptly set to work.

It was then two Yugoslav officers ran away from the POW camp in Striy. They were caught by an OUN force. When Lebed found out about the captives, he had a sudden but far-reaching idea. Why not use the fugitives to get in touch with the Yugoslav fascists — *Chetniks* under the command of Mikhailovich — and through them to reach the British intelligence service?

Lebed immediately ordered both officers to be transferred to Lviv. One of them, Captain Novak, I brought to Lviv by train. Lebed told the Yugoslavs about his plan and both agreed to cooperate, but on one condition. The OUN top brass were to arrange for a group of Yugoslav generals and other ranking officers an escape from the Nazi camp.

Lebed, of course, didn't want to incur the wrath of his *Abwehr* superiors and would do

nothing of the sort. But he assured Novak and his friend that he would do his best. What he actually did was to begin hastily to form a group of his associates to be sent with the Yugoslavs to Mikhailovich.

Novak, however, guessed what Lebed was up to and made a desperate attempt to free his countrymen on his own. The Nazis caught him in the black market section of Lviv as he was trying to buy hardware. On learning about the arrest, Lebed was scared out of his wits and ordered the liquidation of the other Yugoslav.

Novak's friend — I don't recall his name — was killed with a shot in his back at the foot of the Chortkivska Hill in Vinnyky, not far from Lviv. Until the very last moment he had sincerely believed that, after Novak's arrest, his new "benefactors" were taking him to some other secret residence.

Shaking hands with the Yugoslav officer and knowing that he was sending him to death, Lebed had been friendliness itself and wished him a happy journey.

While thus hiding his tracks from the Nazis, Lebed didn't even think of abandoning his plan. He had the shot officer's notebook and in it were some addresses he thought he could use. He decided to take his chance and sent several OUN members to Mikhailovich. The group was headed by one Myrovych and they left Lviv. Instead of the *Chetniks,* however, the nationalists found themselves among Tito's partisans. The latter must have put two and two together and understood that the addresses the OUN messengers had on them had cost the life of a Yugoslav patriot...

Hard as Lebed and Hrynyokh tried to con-

ceal their flirting with the British, they failed. A month or two before the nationalist elite fled the Ukraine, OUN's lower echelons reported from Synevitsi District that an SIS representative had turned up who wanted a meeting with the OUN top functionaries. Lebed was delighted and said Yevhen Vretsiona and I were to meet the British envoy.

Several hours before the rendezvous, I managed to find out that the man trusted by the local OUN officials to know the whereabouts of the SIS man — some Czech by nationality — was also a confidant of Hungarian intelligence and, most importantly, a Nazi secret agent. He turned out to be a Ukrainian by the name of Andriy Pechara.

Everything became clear at once. The suggested contact with the British was nothing other than a smartly arranged Nazi provocation. Our bosses in the Third Reich, although they used the nationalists, knew that once a traitor always a traitor, so they had decided to check just how loyal OUN was, still. Lebed learned that lesson well and spent the remaining weeks in the Ukraine working exclusively on improving cooperation with the *Abwehr*.

Beating a hasty retreat from the Ukraine in the Nazi wake, Lebed and his staff couldn't stop until they reached the Eternal City and found themselves on the Vatican threshold. Lebed at once plunged into feverish activity establishing contacts with foreign secret services. Early in 1946, a papal cardinal recommended Lebed and Hrynyokh to a representative of U.S. political intelligence by the name of Nowak. The two, the cardinal assured the American, were responsible for the "foreign policy"

of the "Ukrainian underground administration." They came to terms. Right away, Lebed went to Munich and showed his hand to Bandera. He went so far as to put it across to the OUN Führer that, wherever contacts with Western intelligence were concerned, he wasn't going to put up with anyone else's butting in, implying that Bandera was no exception, either.

The above has long been known as the actual reason for constant friction between Bandera and Lebed — and not because there were, allegedly, some ideological, program or political differences involved. The apple of discord was the determination of each to be named the first and only representative of the interests of the "warring Ukraine" before American political intelligence.

Bandera — and even more so Stetzko — found it much to the detriment of their personal aspirations that all contacts with Western secret services were in the hands of Mykola Lebed. The latter, being Secretary of Foreign Contacts, was free to act at his own discretion. They tried a stratagem and offered him the post of head of the OUN FB operations department, allegedly to avert another split threatening the organization. Lebed pretended he was inclined to accept the offer, but when it came to surrendering his foreign contacts to Stetzko he stalled and the discussion became a heated bargaining session. Hardly any of the trio's inner circle failed to notice these crafty maneuvers. I talked to Lebed shortly before he realized it was hopeless to get the better of either Bandera or Stetzko and was getting ready to quit the department.

Among other things, I asked him why give

up your post if you know it's practically the only chance for us to fight the split.

Lebed's reply was spiteful:

"Bandera wants to strip me of all authority as a foreign policy maker. That's asking far too much for saving our unity."

And so he set to carrying out his secret schemes with great zeal.

Lebed ordered Baliyev, then in charge of the OUN branch in Germany, to purchase some cocaine and other drugs at the black market. It was generally known that Lebed and Hrynyokh flew from Munich to Rome in company with Nowak, their boss of U.S. political intelligence. Lebed decided to use this channel to bring the narcotics to Rome on board a plane of the American secret service. He expected to make a big profit that way.

That time, his scheme didn't work out, but a second time it did and Lebed even brought along a precious diamond necklace which he had openly taken away from OUN member Demid Chyzhevsky and deposited it in his ministerial portfolio, in the presence of the local SB people.

In Bratislava, in the last months of the war, Lebed organized mass selling and buying of U.S. dollars, gold, diamonds and Gestapo-manufactured British pounds. He tried to pull off the same trick in the first postwar years in Italy, Austria and Germany. In fact, this exhausted the list of most vital concerns of Mykola Lebed as the "maker of the Ukrainian liberation policy." Nevertheless, other details could be added to this rather odd portrait.

In strict secrecy from the rest of OUN, Mykola Lebed ordered one Osyp Vaskovych to set

up an underground print shop in Munich to counterfeit American dollars. Vaskovych did as he was told and the print shop appeared somewhere on the Fuhrichstrasse. It operated for between one and a half and two years.

By this scandalous venture Lebed branded the entire OUN FB (which had always aspired to the role of "political helmsmen" of the Ukrainian emigres) as an organization of counterfeiters.

You might well ask me why on earth should Lebed involve OUN FB with making false dollars when foreign intelligence services were just then paying the organization in genuine dollars and when its gold and diamond reserves were still to be robbed?

Lebed understood even at that period that his counterfeit dollars would come in handy during a crucial moment in his struggle against Bandera.

It was time to send contact agents to Shukhevych in the Ukraine. This was the responsibility of the head of the OUN FB department for local liasion. I had been assigned to this post personally by Bandera. Traditionally, he saw off people to be sent abroad. This time he also put in an appearance and led the agents through the whole "farewell ceremony," including the two-hour "patriotic" speech. Finished with his verbiage, Bandera shook hands around and ordered Mikhailo Banyas, his chief bodyguard, to give each man a wad of dollars (all of which were false).

Lebed knew about the preparation and sending of contact agents to the Ukraine; despite his conflict with Bandera, he had been informed in detail about the important mission.

In preparing the group's passage, I had thought it my duty not only to keep Mykola Lebed informed about the developments — he was still Secretary of Foreign Contacts of UHVR and Chairman of the OUN Council — but also to seek practical advice from him.

Lebed also knew that sending contact agents to the Ukraine was necessary, among other things, to warn Shukhevych against the possibility of uncovering his encampment. But did he care for Shukhevych? Not a bit. A lot of OUN members knew exactly what kind of "understanding" there was between the two.

Lebed first agreed to finance the couriers, but at the last minute abruptly changed his mind and suggested that Bandera best provide them with counterfeit dollars.

To Bandera, the idea was a straw at which he clutched. That was all Lebed needed. He hated the thought that Bandera's people could be the first to turn up in the Ukraine, because this would be proof that Bandera did have contacts with the country and Lebed didn't.

Quietly, Lebed and Hrynyokh began to do their best to prevent the contact group from reaching the Ukraine. Lebed even resorted to what could only be described as the meanest of tricks.

Besides everything else, Lebed wanted me to refuse to help Bandera prepare such a group. Ivan Butkovsky (OUN alias Hutsul) informed me that Lebed had advised Shukhevych as the leader of the surviving nationalist underground network in the Ukraine to shoot the contact men who were, allegedly, enemy agents.

That was blackmail and I took it for what it was. Lebed and Hrynyokh, seeing that another

scheme of theirs had fallen through, tipped off the Americans that there was a party of contact agents being sent with counterfeit dollars, and that Bandera and I (I was directly responsible for the sending out of the group) were trying to deceive U.S. intelligence.

As OUN high-ranking figures, Lebed and Hrynyokh pulled off their dirty job. They smeared the entire Ukrainian nationalist camp; the couriers were apprehended and found to possess false American currency — dollars whose very appearance had been sired by Mykola Lebed.

The Americans bushwhacked them on the frontier. On learning that the false money had been discovered, Stephen Bandera told me something that I couldn't but accept as an order. "Every clue must point at you," he said. In other words, I was to assume responsibility for the production of counterfeit U.S. dollars at a print shop of whose existence I then didn't have the slightest idea! What lay ahead was living as a criminal with the shameful record of a counterfeiter. (During the celebration of the 20th death anniversary of Bandera, Yaroslav Stetzko used every public appearance to stress that Bandera "never made others assume his responsibility if this wasn't to be done according to plan.")

The way Bandera used the fake dollars scheme when fighting for the right to be number one resident agent of American intelligence was utterly and unpardonably hypocritical.

So much for the false money business, you would presume? Not at all.

Having lumped the burden of shame and guilt on Banyas and me, Bandera simply

couldn't bring himself to put up with the loss of the fake treasure.

Rather than promptly ordering the liquidation of the print shop and the ready stock — which would have securely concealed all traces of his criminal venture — Bandera told Klymyshyn to put the "money" into circulation.

Who Are They (Yaroslav Stetzko)?

Shliakh Peremohy wrote that Yaroslav Stetzko, on behalf of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, greeted U.S. President Reagan with his inauguration.

When I read this, I thought the guy was up to his old tricks. It wasn't the first time Stetzko tried to please and flatter the powerful of this world. There were cases when he had the nerve to bow and scrape before them on behalf of the entire Ukrainian nation.

The newspaper didn't specify exactly how Stetzko did it this time, but I can give you an example. The following is the complete text of his message in German, addressed to Adolf Hitler.

"To the Führer and the Chancellor, Berlin

7/4/41
Lviv, Ukrainian Government
No. 2/41

"YOUR EXCELLENCE:

"It is with an overwhelming feeling of gratitude and admiration for your heroic army which has covered itself with new glory in battles with Europe's worst enemy — Moscow Bolsheviks — that we are hereby sending Your Excellence, on behalf of the Ukrainian people and

its government which has been created in liberated Lviv, our heartfelt wishes for complete victory in your struggle.

"The triumph of German arms will enable you to extend your planned construction of new Europe also to her Eastern part.

"You have thus also given an opportunity to the Ukrainian people as one of the full and free members of the family of European nations to take an active part in the implementation of this great plan in its sovereign Ukrainian state.

On behalf of the Ukrainian government,
Yaroslav Stetzko, chief."

I will now quote from another message which Stetzko sent Hitler the very next day, July 5, 1941.

"On behalf of the Ukrainian people and its government, we are sending you the Great Führer and advanced fighter for the new world, as well as your heroic army, our sincere wishes; may the cause you started be crowned by final victory!"

Stetzko forwarded similar messages and assurances of his faithfulness to Field Marshal Goering, General Franko, the *caudillo* of the Spanish state, and even to the Japanese Premier Konoe.

Here is what he wrote to Benito Mussolini, the leader of fascist Italy:

"I am sending you my best greetings and my joy over the victorious advance of your army. Wishing your courageous people quick and final victory, we are firm in our conviction that the Ukraine will take its rightful place as a state-creative factor in the new, **just fascist order** which must come in place of the Versailles system." (Boldface is mine — **M. M.**)

As my reader may have noticed, Stetzko went all out to convince his Nazi superiors that he wanted a fascist government in the "liberated" Ukraine, provided, of course, he, Stetzko, would be at the head of it.

He declared this idea quite openly when announcing the creation of a "free" Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, in Lviv.

"The newly born Ukrainian state," he said, "will closely cooperate with great Germany which, under the guidance of its leader Adolf Hitler, is building a new order in Europe."

I think it hardly likely that many of my young readers of Ukrainian parentage know about the biography Stetzko wrote for the Nazi command (later, it was found in the archives of Rosenberg, one of the major war criminals justly sentenced to death in Nuremberg).

Below are several excerpts from it.

"I am of the opinion that the Jews must be exterminated and do consider that the German methods of exterminating Jews should be practiced in the Ukraine...."

"We are all for supporting as best we can the (new) government in terms of material supplies, so long as Germany finds it necessary."

My young reader can leaf through the files of any nationalist periodical with Stetzko's speeches and articles. He will see for himself that today the former "head" of the "independent" Ukrainian government is doing his utmost to prove that he was not only among those opposing the idea of establishing a Nazi regime in the Ukraine, let alone cooperating with the aggressors, but also that he was a prisoner of the Nazis and struggled against them. Natur-

ally, there exists no proof of any such "struggle," so he relies on his arrest by the Nazis as the most important evidence of his "opposition" to them. It is true that Bandera and Stetzko were arrested by the Germans. They were not imprisoned, though, but were subjected to what their captors themselves called "honorary isolation." After Germany invaded the Soviet Union, hundreds of Ukrainian nationalists were sent to the front as *Wehrmacht* interpreters. They were sent there by both OUN top brass figures Bandera and Melnyk. While doing so, the two kept on biting one another, each striving to become the Nazis' number one assistant. Both being only too glad to cut open each other's throat, Bandera and Melnyk thought nothing of casting members of their factions into the cesspool of OUN's interparty feud.

Banderists shot, stabbed, strangled and drowned Melnykites and Melnykites did their best to reciprocate, rounding up nationalists of the Bandera camp.

All this could only alarm the true masters of the nationalists. *SS Reichsfuhrer* Himmler was worried that the Banderists might shoot too many of the Melnyk group who were his trusted and important agents and secret informers in the occupied Ukraine. Angrily, he stamped his foot at Bandera.

Canaris, the *Abwehr* chief, also felt ill at ease. He was afraid that Himmler's agents of the Melnyk faction might get carried away and by far decrease the number of his so very cheap and efficient spies from the Bandera camp.

On top of all that, came June 30, 1941, when the nationalists proclaimed the establishment of what they called a "free and independent

Ukrainian state." That was something Hitler didn't need at all, just as he wanted no "leader of the Ukraine" Bandera or "Premier" Stetzko. At the same time he felt he could put both to some use, but only as his lackeys. The duet didn't make it any easier for themselves when they named Hitler the Ukraine's vassal and called on young Ukrainians to stand side by side with the *Wehrmacht* to create the "new order" in Eastern Europe.

By that time, the Moor had done his duty, so the Nazis let him go. Espionage information provided by the OUN network in the Western Ukraine before the outbreak of WWII had been utilized by the Third Reich to the best advantage. On Bandera's order, thousands of Western Ukrainians suspected of affiliation to Soviet power had been slaughtered.

Wehrmacht troops were already raging in the Eastern part of the Ukraine where OUN had absolutely no influence. For the time being, the nationalist elite could do nothing for the Nazis who simply didn't need its services. Himmler, though, not wanting to see his servants kill one another, told the OUN "Führer" Stephen Bandera and his *gauleiter* Yaroslav Stetzko to move to Berlin where he offered them a private, comfortable cottage in one of the suburbs, as befitted high-ranking Nazi agents. They did as they were told and had enough time to think over that place in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* where the *Führer* expounds on the place of the Ukraine in his aggressive plans. Lest Bandera would again try to do something nasty against Melnyk, he was politely asked to enjoy himself in every way he pleased but on no condition to leave his new residence.

I saw that "prison" and "concentration camp" of his. I don't think any SB officer would ever decline hospitality there.

Doesn't all this somewhat fade the nimbus of an "anti-Nazi fighter" which Stetzko is trying so hard to keep above his head at present?

Not so long ago — on June 17, 1979, to be precise — speaking in Manchester, Stetzko declared, rather grandiloquently, that "the Act of June 30, 1941, became a significant landmark on the road of our nation. It meant conquering back, restoring the Ukrainian state..., it was the beginning of a two-front war against the two most formidable forces of the world at that time."

My young reader must have already seen where this "landmark" guided the nationalists. In one of his letters to Mussolini, Stetzko stressed his desire to give the Ukraine a worthy place in the "just fascist system."

As for the "two fronts," Stetzko himself wasn't quite sure how many there had actually been — two, three or even four. He apparently decided to rely on his imagination.

In truth, OUN has always fought on one front, against the Ukrainian nation. It has been involved with the bourgeois Polish secret police, the Nazi *Abwehr* or SD, Horthy's intelligence service in Hungary, Rumanian secret intelligence, the Secret Intelligence Service of Great Britain and the American CIA.

Back in 1949, Andriy Livitsky, "President" of the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic), wrote about his partner that "Stetzko has served everybody; he has no ideas of his own. He has collaborated with bourgeois Polish counterintelligence and then with the Germans. In

OUN, they called him Karbovych, his Gestapo alias was Basmach, and his secret reports to the Italian fascists he signed as Belendis."

When in May 1945 I dressed his wounds in the Bavarian Forest, in the presence of Dr. Fehl, representative of the Chief Imperial Department for Safety and Security Service of the Third Reich, Stetzko was still on Nazi payrolls. As for the aliases under which he is paid now by American, British and West German intelligence, they are so far kept secret.

Stetzko's current activity as a "statesman" gives every indication that he persists in visualizing himself as some fairy-tale hero and the all-conquering mouthpiece of "great ideas, a great belief, an iron-clad will and daring and grand resolutions."

I personally bore witness to, and was directly involved in, the realization of his "daring and grand resolutions," both during and after WWII.

At times, Stetzko's remarkable skills in terms of eye-washing and falsifying left me dazed with admiration. He wrote that "the creation of UPA in 1942 became a brilliant improvisation of the Ukrainian nation." * Today, however, it is a generally known fact that the OUN upper echelons formed UPA only after they had received blessings from the Third Reich. It was also from among OUN members that the 14th *Waffen Grenadieren SS Division Galizien* was created. According to Stetzko and the gang, it was the "first Ukrainian division." In other words, they ascribed to themselves the role of trusted representatives of the Ukrainian

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* *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh,* 1979, No. 10, p. 1144.

people, thus masking their heinous crimes against that same nation; this could only be described as arrogant meanness.

I have already mentioned Yaroslav Stetzko's speech in Manchester. I can also tell you that he then stated that none of the OUN members had ever thought of "his own destiny tomorrow, about his studies, ranks or means or ways of ensuring his own physical existence."

With my own eyes I saw exactly how Stetzko "never thought" about his "physical existence," his "own destiny tomorrow" or his "ranks," In the course of a severe "interdepartmental feud" against as ardent careerists, he seized key positions in the OUN FB and ABN hierarchies and made sure a most fantastic kudos was his. He even had the nerve to have himself described as an "indefatigable fighter for, and herald of, an indivisible freedom for nations and every human being...."

"For many," Stetzko said in his Manchester address, "the question of living for an idea has turned into a desire to die for it."

He has always desired to live for an idea because it yielded profits. As for the honor of dying for an idea, he was generous enough to surrender it to me. What I am trying to say is that practically any of my young Ukrainian readers abroad can count on the same "privilege."

At another time, Stetzko said; "We understand our idea as a notion whose realization calls for sacrificing not hundreds but millions of lives." *

To Yaroslav Stetzko, a true hero is a person

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* *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh,* 1979, No. 12, p. 1389.

"on temporary leave in this world.... Why does human grandeur reveals itself in man's very death with such force and brilliance?" he asks rhetorically.

Personally, I have spent enough time with the current head of OUN and am positive that he has invariably placed his earthly importance high above that in the great beyond. Stetzko would be happy to keep on lauding the memory of fallen heroes, provided he remained above and not within their graves, although he said once that he would like to "sacrifice my own life" and share the deathbeds of such heroes.

As all the other nationalist hierarchs, Yaroslav Stetzko prefers to remain heroic in words, while kindly offering the privilege of a heroic death to the younger generation — to you, dear reader — and this is exactly how he must have acted once toward your father or grandfather.

Stetzko encourages, even provokes you to fulfill your "sacrificial duty,"* himself reserving the role of a professional mourner. Having sent another of his associates to his, quite useless, death, he suffers "the pain of loss" and raises himself to the "loftiest awareness of one's role." **

Comparatively recently, he declared that "possession of a state is an art, rather than science." He has never possessed one, yet for almost forty years he has proved his worth in politicking, in smartly deceiving his own henchmen, in looking for new employers, wheedling money out of them, and in fooling around with the "Ukrainian liberation policy."

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* *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh*, 1979, No. 9, p. 975.
** Ibid, p. 969.

How We Live Now

Most of my life is already in the past, with what was good or bad there. Traditionally, an elder is entitled to a word of advice to the younger generation. I would like to use this advantage for the sake of my young compatriots living outside the land of their forefathers. I want them to know the truth about how their mother nation lives at present, building its happy future and struggling for peace among peoples the world over.

As has already been mentioned, I found myself in the Soviet Ukraine in 1951, after I had ascended to the highest step of the nationalist hierarchic ladder. I was then a graduate of a British spy school which I had entered with Bandera's blessings. The latter had helped me reach the native land. Before long, I realized that the way people lived here, under Soviet rule, was very different from the picture painted by Western propaganda, particularly by the Ukrainian nationalist press. I saw it for what it really was. I examined it in every possible detail and understood that the best aspirations of my youth had been wasted.

Here I found glaring proof that the nationalists had lost all the many years of their struggle against the Soviet system. The most important reason for their failure, I thought, was that they had never had any support from the Ukrainian masses. And how could they have had it, doing everything possible to antagonize their own people?

All the stories fed you by nationalist propa-

ganda about the "cruel communist regime" are only meant for the credulous. Like all those who had wronged their nation and then realized and repented of their guilt, I was released from prison after a while. What was more, I and others like me, former enemies of the Soviet order, were given opportunities to join the campaign for building a new life in the USSR as citizens perfectly equal in rights with the rest of the population. I will tell you now how *we* live here and I am glad I have every right to do so on behalf of all the Ukrainian citizens of the Soviet Union.

I live in Volyn. During the years after the war, tremendous, breath-taking changes have taken place here. The Nazis completely ruined 48,000 homes, 61,000 various government buildings, local industries and liquidated all educational establishments in this administrative region. After the war, the Ukrainians had to raise plants, cities and villages literally from smoking ruins, to put under plow fields that had grown wild without man's care. They could do all this thanks to disinterested help from other Soviet republics.

It was before my very eyes that Lutsk became the beautiful modern city it is today, surrounded by the Styr River and verdant parks and public gardens. It wasn't with a touch of a magic wand but through the concerted and painstaking efforts of the working people of Volyn that this city has grown to be the kind of big modern city it is now, with its massive residential areas, cultural and educational centers, plants and factories.

Under Polish landlords, Lutsk was among the most backward towns of the province. Cur-

rently it boasts 40 enterprises specializing in machinebuilding, instrument making and car manufacture. In the past three years alone, its residents have received another 198,000 sq.m. of floor space, two 10-grade schools, five kindergartens, a new city hospital and a polyclinic, a Palace of Young Pioneers, the Svityaz Hotel, and so on.

Volyn Region has more than 65 polyclinics and hospitals accommodating 12,800 patients who are ensured free medical attention by 2,639 specialists.

By way of comparison, the province of Volyn didn't have a single polyclinic in 1937, let alone children's and maternity hospitals. The available medical staff numbered 89 physicians.

In 1935, as little as 5 per cent Ukrainian children could study in the mother tongue in Galicia and even less — 0.02 per cent — in the provinces of Volyn, Kholm and Polissya. In 1936, there were only five schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction left in Volyn. (Bek, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of bourgeois Poland, cynically told foreign newsmen that the closing down of Ukrainian and Byelorussian schools was caused by the "savagery and general backwardness of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian people.") At present, there are 736 Ukrainian and 7 Russian schools in Volyn, enrolling a total of 160,000 students. Other educational establishments include the Pedagogical Institute, a branch of the Polytechnical Institute of Lviv, 15 technical and 22 vocational training colleges where 43 qualifications and trades are taught.

The cultural needs of the Volyn people are served by some 800 public libraries, 949 Houses

of Culture and clubs, 12 folk and local lore museums, the Taras Shevchenko Musical Drama Theater, the District Philharmonic Society, seven people's theaters and 1,243 movie houses.

As many as 7,972 local amateur performing groups involve about 143,000 gifted individuals and enthusiasts of both sexes.

Quite often, leading Ukrainian performers are given an opportunity to show their skills in a number of countries all over the world. Each time newspapers abroad carry most flattering reviews and applauding and cheering audiences never fail to drown the feeble voices of those trying to boycott such tours.

After all, many who visited the Ukraine from abroad had only to see things with their own eyes to become convinced of the falsehood of bourgeois propaganda. Every compatriot couldn't fail to notice booming construction and new beautiful buildings in place of burnt homes and horrible ruins.

I am also proud to say that I have been involved in this important campaign. I did a number of diggings and prospective probing in Volyn Region, as well as in Rakhiv and Sokal districts of Transcarpathian and Lviv administrative regions.

That all of these missions have come out more or less effective is solely due to the kind of friendly cooperation I have always been accorded on the part of local Soviet authorities, also party, trade union, public and particular industrial-project-affiliated bodies. I know I shouldn't boast, but just to prove my point, I can tell you that some of the relics I have so far discovered, especially objects ascribed to

the periods of New Stone Age, Bronze Age and later stages in the development of man — something held in special esteem with the experts — have been found by some institute specialists to bear ponderable scientific weight. These discoveries were eventually handed over to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and, later, to some Ukrainian museums.

I hope that my young reader will believe me if I say that, of all people, I am to judge what any armed struggle is really like, especially when this struggle assumes a most brutal form. From my own, hard-earned experience, I know that war cannot be viewed as a method whereby disputable matters can be solved between countries. One must not forget that the modern means of mass destruction actually leaves no opportunity of solving any problem in a "military way," without entailing most devastating international conflicts.

Being one of the Soviet nation, I can tell you that all of us are struggling today for peace and better understanding among world nations the way we have never done before. We want an end to the arms race. We want to avert nuclear catastrophe. Under the present circumstances, this kind of struggle is the only opportunity of ensuring man his most vital right — the right to live.

I, Myron Matvijeiko who has witnessed life and struggle from polarized ends, can tell you with utmost confidence: don't let yourselves and other young people like you be deceived by them. Beware of their efforts to drag you into the nets of spy centers and military ventures. Remember: there is only one thing any human being is called upon to hold the dear-

est — life. Life can only prosper when all of us make up our mind to live in peace, friendship and love.

In Lieu of the Epilogue

My dear readers, young Ukrainians living abroad:

The present-day nationalist top functionaries tell you repeatedly something like, "If there isn't the kind of the Ukraine we want, let there be no Ukraine at all!"

You can see for yourselves that the Ukraine does exist, despite the endeavors of odious figures like Stetzko and their masters overseas. She is the way she was created by the Ukrainian nation and continues to flourish under the guidance of the Communist Party, receiving a great deal of disinterested help from all the other fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Ukrainian SSR exists both de facto and de jure. Her legal foundation rests on the unbreakable ground of the Constitution of the USSR and that of the Ukr. SSR.

It was back in 1918 that the nationalists lost their battle for their way of thinking and for their rule in the Ukraine. They lost it on all fronts. Utter failure was also their lot during the establishment and assertion of Soviet power and during the Nazi occupation of our country. Their encroachments on our gains in the post-war period, by means of terrorism and subversion, proved as abortive. Despite all this, the nationalist elite persists in trying to put its

rotten spoke into the huge and indestructible wheel of the history of our Motherland.

The Ukrainian nation followed in the footsteps of Yuri Kotsyubynsky, Mykola Shchors, Olexander Parhomenko, Klim Voroshilov and the great Lenin. This is the truth which the nationalist bigwigs seem incapable of grasping.

I will now try to relate, as accurately as I can remember, the conversation that took place between Yaroslav Stetzko and a well-informed member of the British House of Lords in Edinburgh in 1951, shortly before I was flown to the Ukraine.

Stetzko must have taken the lord for an incompetent snob, because he pompously declared that there were thousands upon thousands of UPA soldiers and OUN members conducting an armed struggle against the Soviet government in the Ukraine.

The Englishman replied:

"Mr. Stetzko, if you could boast of representing, here and now, at least a dozen soldiers who are armed and devoted to you, I would embrace you with utmost affection."

That was thirty years ago, and yet the British nobleman correctly evaluated the situation in the Ukraine. Now, however, your nationalist leaders are still trying to hammer it in your heads that there *is* some "organized resistance" in that country.

They themselves don't dare to set foot in the Ukraine to "improve contacts" with that mythical underground network. Instead, they send someone of your younger and ill-informed generation of Ukrainians. On return — *if* you make it back — you are supposed to confirm the existence of the "resistance movement" there.

As you probably know, Andrew Klimchuk, the British nationalist emissary caught red-handed in Lviv, had on him, besides other things, two documents bearing loud and pretentious titles: "Statement Concerning the Ukrainian Cause" and "The Appeal of the Underground Ukraine to the Governments of Countries in the West and to the World Public." The nationalist top brass had intended to present this sham back home as though it had bean written in the Ukraine and send the stuff over to the European Conference in Belgrade. One of this "documents" contained the demand that the Ukrainian delegation to the UN be *recalled* and *replaced* by nobody other than Yaroslav Stetzko!

A similar assignment was given to Yaroslav Dobosh. He was also caught and expelled from the Soviet Union.

Think of all this, my dear young friends! Think and then ask Yaroslav Stetzko why is he trying so hard to convince foreign secret services that there are still some remnants of OUN agents operating in the Ukraine and why does he send some of you there, knowing that the same will happen to you as it did to me, that you will be caught and brought to book? That any attempt to act on the sly here is doomed, because people will never help you, because they hate the nationalists.

You can rest assured that your nationalist "Führer" has long lost all hope of ever creating a "free and independent Ukraine" and of demolishing the USSR, let alone any "liberation struggle" there. He is afraid to say as much publicly, though, because he would then lose all access to the purse of his masters. You must

remember his speech at the 6th Congress of the Union of Ukrainian Student Associations in Munich (West Germany). Think over these words: "We must not measure our strength by the criteria of the possible but by those of the most wanted for."

At present, I am much in contact with writers, journalists, historians and archaeologists. They keep on telling me that I should have made an archaeologist or a linguist, because, supposedly, I have "the goods," that I could have also become a journalist or an historian, for the same reasons.

I shouldn't boast, but I believe you know that I am the author of several books for youth published abroad. At one time, I had wanted to write for children, I had wanted to give people joy.

I could have chosen one of the above fields of human endeavor that are generally known to be needed by our race. It is, however, also true that I had stepped on a path that could only lead me to being an ill-wisher, so far as the Ukrainian people was concerned.

Once again, my young reader, I beg of you to think hard of my life experiences. I would hate you to repeat my blunders.

Think all this over and see if you can find a better course in your life....

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Price 15 copecks
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The author of A WORD TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION, Myron Matvijeiko, was for a long time in charge of the security detail of Stephen Bandera, a top functionary of what is still known as OUN FB (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Foreign Branches). His is a message to the younger generation of Ukrainian parentage currently living outside the Ukraine; it is a frank account of mistakes made in one's youth, and a striking expose of the true identity of Ukrainian nationalist hierarchs.